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FEBRUARY MEETING

THE stated meeting was held on Thursday, the 9th instant at three o'clock, P.M., the first Vice-President, Mr. RHODES, in the chair.

The record of the last meeting was read and approved.

The Vice-President announced the death of Viscount Bryce, who stood at the head of the Society's list of Honorary Members, and called on Dr. Eliot.

Mr. ELIOT said:

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I can only speak on this occasion as an old and intimate friend of James Bryce, the friendliest man I have ever met in this world. At the start, his education interested me very much, with its wonderfully varied character, which he brought out very clearly in talking about it himself in the President's house at Harvard. This was almost my first introduction to his remarkable powers of description. His formal education was almost completely from books, in languages ancient and modern, and in history. That description covers both what we should call his secondary education and his college education; but he described with equal clearness and vigor another entirely distinct part of his education, which he received from an uncle and his father, both of whom were in the habit of taking the boy to walk in country places, where natural scenes came into view, like the Scottish moors and lakes, and the gardens, parks, and woods of the neighborhood. On these delightful walks he learned to see the minute and the broadest things in nature — the minute, like the small flowers, the mosses, the lichens, the things which required close observation, and also the large things in the landscape, the hills, the valleys, the geologic strata and the rending and tilting of the strata, and the play of the gigantic forces which have made parts of the earth's surface habitable by man, and responsive to his thirst for beauty, grace, and splendor. To all

those things his attention was directed by his uncle and his father; and these delights he pursued for years before he entered on the real work of his life, and ever after. I have never known anybody who had so complete an education, so complete a training in such different fields. His linguistic powers were large, and his memory for languages was most remarkable; and yet his memory for botanical things and for places and for geologic and geographic phenomena was equally strong.

He habitually exhibited the strongest delight in the use of his observing powers that I have ever seen in a human being — an incessant delight in the exercise of these powers. I remember the first walk we took together on the Island of Mount Desert. He had come to my house, and we started to walk up my wood road, which passes through such woods as Mount Desert was then containing. The immediate area had been burnt over about forty years before, and the growth was comparatively young but still interesting. Bryce was noticing everything on the way, every kind of tree, and bush, and fern. Suddenly he stopped short at catching sight of a thrifty mat of the fragrant plant called Linnaea or Twin-flower, which has a beautiful leafage and a delightful little bell-shaped flower; and the plant was in flower. He could not leave it; it gave him such intense pleasure to see that lowly plant, a sub-arctic plant which he had but rarely seen.

This very last summer we went out together to an island that lies about nine miles off the Mount Desert shore, to the southward. He asked me if I would take him out there; because in all his previous visits to Mount Desert he had never succeeded in getting to that outer island, called the Outer Duck. He must see it, and the views thence. So we went together, on a calm, sunny, lovely day. I was unable to accompany him in his walk over the Outer Duck; so he went alone, and came back with a glowing report of the admirable condition of the woods on that rough and desolate island. They were scanty, but, as he said, in fine condition, though wind-blown. After luncheon, during which he talked eagerly of what he had seen and was seeing on that island, we took the boat for home. We faced the whole range of the Mount Desert hills. There they stood, right before us, in

the whole length of the range, sometimes called seven mountains and sometimes eight; and it is just as hard to say which now, as it was when Champlain in 1603 put into his log his cautious description of the range. But Bryce was wholly absorbed in this contemplation, and talked much about the scene. Why was he so delighted? Because he could see the whole range right before him without moving his head either to the right or to the left. The whole range was pictured. He had seen more striking views in many parts of the world, but that one he said delighted him more than any view he could then recall. He had been to the Grand Canyon, and in the Yosemite, and in sight of many volcanoes and volcanic structures the world over; but there was this range of blue hills, all of primitive rock and low comparatively, wooded in part but also abounding in rocky precipices and abrupt cliffs, and lying in a delicious atmosphere with the quiet sea as foreground. He found it the most delightful view that he had ever seen. And this was only last summer, at the end of many, many years of travel all over the world. I have never seen any person who felt and showed such delight in the observation of nature in all its scales and all its ranges, from the most minute to the grandest.

He entered upon the work of his life very young, compared with other people who have proved to be great authors. His first book, however, showed the tendencies of his mind, his modes of thought, and his interest in the new kind of observation to which he was to devote his working years. It is an absolutely different field from that of nature — this field in which Bryce spent sixty years of his active life. It was the field of observation of the human being, and of the institutions which the immense series of human beings have created. This of course is a psychological field. Today many people call it a psychiatric field. Human beings differ infinitely. No two human beings are alike, and every human being is a complex of good and bad, of right motives and wrong, of right tendencies in conduct and behavior and wrong tendencies. The discovery of the mental habits and moral nature of a human being is a process of the most difficult sort, and utterly different from the discovery of the nature and habits of a little plant or of a high mountain.

To this most difficult of all fields of observation Bryce devoted his whole working time. In that field he early manifested certain strong habits of mind, or tendencies in daily action. He had a curious penetration in the observation and study of the single human being. He had a remarkable facility in getting into contact with the human being that he wished to study. I never saw his match in that respect. He could get into contact with a man toward whom he experienced an instinctive repulsion. He would set aside that repulsion, and get into mental and moral contact with him. And so in the study of institutions, the results of many centuries of the working of these complex human beings on nature, on each other, and on the universe, he saw with marvellous clearness the tendencies of social and governmental institutions, and the results of long-lived institutions, no matter how diverse in character — autocratic, democratic, industrial, philosophical, or religious. He had an extraordinary facility in discerning the operations of the human mind on these institutions generation after generation, and the results of those operations.

In this prolonged study, covering more than sixty years of his life, he early arrived at some general views. For instance, he had an aversion to political action directed by abstract principles, or founded on abstract considerations. He believed abstract notions to be unsound foundations for political action. He thought that the only means of making sure progress in free government, for example, was practice in local government and in party government. That practice — he thought — must have developed skill in public discussion — always in discussion first — but discussion resulting in compromise. That was the way he thought British freedom had been brought about and given a large place in the world, through discussion and conflict followed by compromise. He hardly believed that political progress was possible except in that way. He distrusted French democracy, for example; because it seemed to him founded on certain philosophical and rhetorical abstract considerations and not on discussion resulting in compromise. He thought that strenuous reformers were often much too logical. He believed that a democracy needed leadership, must have leadership, could not

get on without it; and one of the great disappointments of his life was that in recent years he could not discover in any country the necessary leaders for democratic progress.

He also believed that social progress was more dependent than most people supposed on the predominance of sound racial habits in a given community, that the family was the real root not only of political happiness or content but also of industrial content. He therefore looked with alarm on what seemed to him the decline of the family in some of the freest nations of the earth. He believed that the continuity and prosperity of the family were absolutely indispensable to the progress of any race; and it was a great grief to him to see what he thought was the shrinkage of the family in Great Britain and in the United States, as social power, and as root of everything that could properly be called civilization.

He had, as you all know, a great deal of caution in expressing his own opinions and those of other people. You will find on nearly every page of his *Modern Democracies* such phrases as "Some say," "People say," "It is said." If he had been writing in French he would have used often the phrase "on dit." He was chary of flat statements, or unquestioning affirmations. That habit grew upon him in his later writings; but it was founded, I think, upon fundamental doubts which had arisen in his mind concerning the future progress of mankind, particularly of certain races of mankind, and doubts as to the real benefit to mankind of certain happenings in the Great War which most of us thought were sure gains.

I remember during the last week he spent with me that I asked him one day, "Don't you think that there are solid advantages, permanent gains for mankind in the destruction of the German Empire, the Austrian Empire, the Russian Czardom, and the Turkish Empire? Don't you think there are lasting benefits to mankind from these destructions?" His reply was, "Eliot, do you feel sure that the governments which are going to replace these empires gone will be better for those several nations than the governments destroyed? Do you feel sure that those peoples are going to be better off because those autocratic governments have gone? They have gone." I told him I did, but he was not so convinced. He felt doubt as to the outcome of those desirable destructions.

It was a grief to everybody that loved him that his happiness in his last years was diminished by these grave doubts. Every now and then in friendly intercourse he would triumph over them. I saw him do that several times in the last week which I had the happiness of spending with him. He would turn in his talk towards certain fundamental instincts which made part of him, and rejoice in them. He had on the last day I spent with him a recurrence of faith in what he called religion. I should not have been able to define exactly what he meant by religion. It was not the common kind. It was not what we call the Christian religion in its institutional or dogmatic forms; but there it was. He had a lively hope for the future happiness of humanity, of mankind all over the world, which was founded on that religious instinct.

Mr. LOWELL then spoke as follows:

Mr. Chairman, one who has been watching an intellectual sun feels lonely when it sets. Lord Bryce was a luminary, and a luminary of the first class. He began exceedingly young, and his day was a very long one.

On leaving school at Glasgow, he went to the University of Glasgow and then to Trinity College, Oxford. There he graduated in 1862, taking a first in classics and in a later term of the same year a first in history. Those two things, his classics and his history, were interwoven and formed the texture of his intellectual life. His first publication had already been made, in the year 1859. It was *The Flora of the Isle of Arran*. He never wrote, so far as I know, upon botany later, but his interest in the subject and his strong love of nature endured.

In the year 1862 also he wrote what has continued to be among the great books of his generation, his Arnold prize essay on *The Holy Roman Empire*. Later it was expanded and republished in many editions. I have always been inclined to think it the greatest book he ever wrote. Great as some of the others, and notably *The American Commonwealth*, are, I have always felt that his *Holy Roman Empire* was probably the most extraordinary of all. It was a great conception, greatly treated.

After leaving Oxford he went to a German university, and

then entered the bar, practising law for fifteen years. In 1870 he became Regius Professor of Law at Oxford, and that chair he retained until 1893. He was not a great barrister, that was not what interested him, but he was essentially a jurist, and a jurist he continued to be, writing essays on jurisprudence throughout his whole career.

Another striking side of his life was brought out not far from the same time. In 1876 he scaled Mount Ararat, I believe the first man since Noah that ever reached the top; and he remained an Alpine climber all his days. Anyone who has ever walked up mountains with him knows well the delight he took in them, how he understood them, and loved them as much as he did the plants which grew on their sides. For many years, indeed, he was president of the Alpine Club.

Then he turned his gaze towards America, coming first in the 70's, and returning frequently to study the American commonwealth. Studying it why? Because he loved America? Not primarily; but because in it, like De Tocqueville, he saw a laboratory in which he could examine the latest developments and the latest results of the movements which he had begun to study in history. I shall come back to this, for it is one of the most impressive things in his whole intellectual atmosphere.

When I first saw him, in the year 1881, he was here inquiring into American institutions, and there was hardly a second of his day when he was not asking questions, following up the answers, and noting for future use what he learned. He was mixing with every kind of man, and getting every kind of impression. Later he said that he never wrote *The American Commonwealth* at all, that it was written for him by the people with whom he talked, whose ideas he simply jotted down. Of course that is not true. He had the capacity of insight, of weighing what he heard, of combining divergent impressions into a consistent whole, and thus of seeing things as they are. He finished his *American Commonwealth*, and turned his attention to other democratic countries. It is characteristic that although he naturally knew England more intimately than any other nation he never wrote a treatise upon its institutions fearing the lack of detachment of one too closely connected with its public life.

He was extremely fond of travel, and he travelled to see men and nature, both of which he enjoyed keenly. In both his interest extended from one extreme to the other. He loved the sea, the mountain and the barren plain. He loved solitude, and he loved men. I remember his saying on one occasion, speaking of the sage-brush covered plains in the Rockies, that when he had first crossed them, looking from the rear platform of a train, he wanted to get off and sit down alone among the sage bushes. One of the things that I suspect he loved about the mountains was the sense of solitude. At the same time he was always happy in the crowded marts of men. He visited South America, South Africa, Australia, always noting the landscape, always at the same time noting the men and mixing with men.

Finally, at the end of his life, he summed up what he had to say in his *Modern Democracies*. He wrote, therefore, at the age of twenty-four, a book which is not only notable, but always will be notable while history is read, one of the great books of his generation. He finished another book, notable throughout the world, at the age of eighty-three, a space of almost sixty years.

What were the marked characteristics of his thought? They were extraordinary in many directions. In the first place, he had an absolutely lucid mind. Although by no means a man without strong feelings, strong aspirations, strong political party attachments, a man who liked and admired one man, and disapproved of another, a man whose sympathies were eager in favor of one movement and against another, he nevertheless in recording what he saw in any country recorded it as if his feelings were absolutely colorless. That is one of the striking contrasts which makes his books what they are. Without the strong enthusiasms and feelings his books would have been mere photographs; but they were not photographs. They were the expression of the working of his own powerful brain over the things which he saw and assimilated. At the same time he did not allow any predispositions of his to color the facts. That is one of the things that strikes one everywhere in his writings. Although the impressions he received might be contrary to those that he would like to receive, although the impressions differed

from his ideas of what men should be and what they naturally would be, he put them down as he saw them and did not even unconsciously color the description.

Another thing which to me is very unusual about him was the fact that to him, unlike most men, the study of man was one continuous study. I mean that from the time he read Plato and Aristotle to the time he examined the government of Australia it was one human nature that he was considering. To him the ancient classics were not one thing and modern studies another. They were all part of one unbroken line of thought and growth. Aristotle and Plato were to him merely the elder students of the same thing that he was studying now, that is, human nature manifested in its political forms.

A third thing which struck me very much about him was the number of channels by which information flowed in to him. It was said of Judge Story that he had more channels through which information came to him than other men. That was true also of Lord Bryce. He got much by reading, by reading books in many languages and all ages. He got no less by personal observation, by the use of his senses, by keeping his eyes open and seeing. He got a vast amount by conversation. He was the readiest talker and also the readiest listener that I ever met. He gave his impressions freely to anyone who asked for them, he discussed freely with everybody; but he also listened, and listened intently, and he extracted from everyone who came near him all the information to be gained. Lucid in his mind, capable of acquiring information from every source, capable of expressing it with perfect clearness, capable of suppressing the inclinations that would tend to color it, he produced works which, so long as men read, will portray to them the existing conditions of politics in the age in which he lived better than any other books that have been written in our day.

Mr. Eliot has referred to a sadness that suffused the later part of his life. Yes, that was true. He suffered the penalty which every man who has enthusiasm and faith in his youth feels at the disappointment that all he had hoped for has not come to pass; and towards the end of his life came the war which put the hands of the clock backwards, as he recognized, and he was saddened by its consequences. He had hoped

for better times, but he realized in his last years that the things that he had hoped for would not come within his own day. He was a man of too sound convictions, of too profound study, too deep in his thought, to think they never would come, but he felt that he should never live to see them.

We have left out of sight entirely one side of his life, that is his political career. Most of us here in America think of Lord Bryce as a writer, and it is right that we should think of him so. Writing is probably the most enduring thing that he did. Nevertheless, we must remember that his life was an active one in politics, and that what he did in public affairs would alone have consumed the whole time of an ordinary man. He went into Parliament, in the year 1880. He became Under Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1886, and he held several offices in the Cabinet. In the administration of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, he was Chief Secretary for Ireland. At one time he was at the head of the Board of Trade, and he wrote the great report on secondary education in England.

As Americans we can never forget that he was an Ambassador to this country, although his own compatriots never appreciated the services he rendered here. What he did was not mainly diplomatic. Ambassadors do little diplomacy in these later times. That is done over the cable from the State Department of one government to the Foreign Office of another. But he carried out in this country what our diplomats have done on the other side. He was the only British Ambassador who understood that the object of a diplomat is less to negotiate with governments than to charm a people, and he did it. Every American, whether he ever saw Lord Bryce or not, feels as if somehow or other he was a personal friend, and that is due not to his learning, but to his geniality, to the fact that he had an affection for everybody with whom he came into contact. For those who had the privilege of knowing him well that affection was very deep and very true. He loved men with a deep earnestness, and I suppose it is because he loved men that he loved to study the institutions of men.

To us it is a pleasure to think that he died in full possession of his powers; and that, as my friend Sir Horace Plunkett

has said, he has left us the greater part of his wisdom in the books that he wrote. I believe it was Sir George Trevelyan who remarked of him that the gods loved Lord Bryce, for those whom they love die young, and whenever he might come to die, he would die young. One cannot look back over his life without a deep sense of gratitude, without being thankful for a man who could devote himself to the interests of human life, and point out in our politics and in the politics of the world the dangers and the perils, and the path that we must tread. This is the tribute that every friend would pay to Lord Bryce.

Mr. RHODES read the following tribute:

A rustic said at Webster's funeral, "Daniel Webster, the world without you will seem lonesome." So thinks the historic world of the death of James Bryce. Without indulging in superlatives, we may say he was a great historian. When our former President Mr. Adams, to whom we owe so much, was reviewing our list in 1901 he asked: "What American would question the propriety of putting the name of Right Hon. James Bryce on any roll literary or historical?" Bryce was made a corresponding member in 1882, before the publication of the *American Commonwealth*, and an honorary member in 1896; at his death he stood at the head of the honorary roll — the most honored of all.

His first historical work, the *Holy Roman Empire*, was published in 1864 and this made his reputation as an historian. It would have been a great work for any man — but given to the world as it was at the age of twenty-six it was simply amazing! As one turns over its pages now and refers to one's individual notes one cannot but wonder at the immense knowledge, the correct divinations, the power of generalization and the correctness of inferences therein displayed. It is a scholar's book evidencing a knowledge of many languages and showing vast reading. How could a young man have compassed so much! He was no recluse, being what is known in London as a "social success." One is not surprised to know that the Oxford coveted degree of D. C. L. was conferred upon him when he was thirty-two.

Cannot we speak of a beginning thus as a brilliant career? Is he regarded as a brilliant writer in England; and if he is not and I am right in this supposition, is it not because he paid no attention to literary style? "I have never made any study of style," he wrote, "or read any writer with a view to the formation or polishing of style. Sometimes it has occurred to me that a man might much improve himself by this: but I have never had leisure to study the masters of style or in writing to think of anything except how most clearly to state what one had to say."

I must confess that I consider the *Holy Roman Empire* pretty close to if not quite a literary masterpiece. Without apparent effort the author has told the events of over 1500 years in 571 pages. As Buffon said, the style is the man himself and in this book Bryce has been so full of his subject, one event suggesting another, that he unconsciously has written a model of condensation which, so far as can be seen, may long be studied with profit.

Twenty-four years were to pass before he published another work — the *American Commonwealth*. The story goes that he and Albert V. Dicey visited the United States for the first time in 1870; as they were returning home Bryce proposed to Dicey that they should jointly write a book on the United States. After reflection Dicey decided not to join in the enterprise and therefore the *American Commonwealth* appeared under the name of Bryce — the one single book on the United States that one can say equals the famous work of De Tocqueville. The *American Commonwealth* differs in one respect widely from the *Holy Roman Empire*, in that it is not made up from books and manuscripts. Mr. Bryce told me a number of years ago that five-sixths of the materials of his *American Commonwealth* were made up of observations, impressions and conversations; one-sixth only from printed material. While this would be nothing extraordinary in a book of travels, which is necessarily written from such data, it seems to me rare in a political and sociological treatise such as is the *American Commonwealth*. Bryce's book, like the works of Herodotus and Tacitus, was largely written from data that he obtained from the lips of living men. There is a freshness in such original sources which

makes itself felt on the printed page; but a good book written from such data is exceptional as few men have the time, the opportunity and knack for collecting such materials and then, after the materials are obtained, to make a book out of observations, impressions and conversations, is difficult indeed.

One cannot help thinking that Bryce is a writing Lord Acton; that in his various knowledge he may be compared with that learned man, who was said to read a book a day. Bryce did not read a book a day but he absorbed what was equivalent to that much knowledge and he gave it to the world. But he loved and appreciated Acton, listening to him in his library at Cannes when Acton told like a man inspired, how the history of Liberty might be written, and how it might be made the central thread of all history.

Bryce was Regius Professor of Civil Law at Oxford for twenty-three years. The guild knew him for one of their own. When he spoke to a company composed largely of professors at a dinner of the American Historical Association in New York, they knew they heard from a man who had shared their hopes and fears and who, though risen to great celebrity, could never forget and never wanted to forget that he was one of them. Bryce published many books and many pamphlets. He was a fertile writer. He was full of ideas. Of whom can it better be said that "reading maketh a full man, conference a ready man"?

His last work, *Modern Democracies*, may be fitly considered alongside of the *American Commonwealth*. The *American Commonwealth* is full of optimism. Democracy in the United States has been a great success. It has its faults and failures, but its merits overtop them all. But there is a sombre hue about *Modern Democracies*. At first the pessimism in it was overlooked by the English reviewers, as they could not be convinced that Bryce was other than an optimist. But the best that he can say of democracy is written at the end: "However grave the indictment that may be brought against democracy its friends can answer, 'What better alternative do you offer?' . . . So may it be said that Democracy will never perish till after Hope has expired."

Bryce had a warm heart and loved to acknowledge aid from

his friends. Thus when Bryce was a great man, he wrote in 1904, to that edition of the *Holy Roman Empire*: "Did custom permit the dedication to anyone of a book long before the public, I should have dedicated the pages that follow to Mr. Goldwin Smith, now the honored patriarch of English historians," and he might have added an honorary member of the Massachusetts Historical Society. A year earlier an inscription of *Studies in Contemporary Biography* reads, "To Charles William Eliot, President of Harvard University. In commemoration of a long and valued friendship." To *Modern Democracies*, "To His Friend and Fellow Worker A. Lawrence Lowell, President of Harvard University. To whom Englishmen are indebted for an admirably lucid and exact description of their Government in its theory and practice."

The Librarian reported the following accessions:

From Miss Elizabeth H. Bartol, a collection of papers containing account books and correspondence of Ebenezer William Sage, a merchant of Middletown, Conn., New York, Boston and Matanzas from 1806 to 1834; also gave an account book kept in Boston from 1732 to 1771, by Dr. John Clark and by his son Dr. William Clark; and Dr. Bartol's record of deaths, 1837 to 1882, and his record of preachings, 1838 to 1871.

From Mrs. S. Parkman Blake, a number of papers of Edward Blake, Jr., a merchant of Boston, 1804 to 1826.

From William C. Williams, of Dedham, a letter of Edward Tyler to the Boston Clearing House, Jan. 13, 1865.

From Charles E. Goodspeed, letters relating to the Round Hill School, Northampton, from James D'W. Perry, a student, August 30, 1827, and from Benjamin Peirce, Jr., (H. C. 1829), an instructor, November 22, 1829.

From Miss Emma Rodman, a letter from Julia Ward Howe to Mrs. Samuel Rodman, Newport, August 9, 1880, and some verses by her on John Lothrop Motley.

From Lawrence Walter Jenkins, of Salem, an order from the Governor's Troop of Horse Guards, to appear at training in Boston, September 10, 1764.

From Frederic Amory, some papers of James S. Amory, 1851-1864.

The Cabinet-Keeper reported the following gifts:

From Mrs. Wilhelmy, through Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow, the key of the Court House at Appomattox, Virginia, where Lee surrendered to Grant on April 9, 1865.

From Mrs. Elizabeth Story Gray, a pair of gold spectacles worn by Judge Joseph Story (1779-1845) and afterwards by his brother Franklin Howard Story (1795-1871).

From Mrs. Kingsmill Marrs, the bronze medal of Alsace, by G. Prudhomme, 1919; and the medal of Verdun, by S. E. Vernier, 1917.

From the Boston Surgical Society, through Dr. Walter C. Howe, Secretary, a bronze replica of the Henry Jacob Bigelow gold medal, awarded from time to time by that Society for contributions to the advancement of surgery. The award of this medal in gold is made under a trust fund established in 1915, in memory of his father by Dr. William Sturgis Bigelow.

General Morris Schaff, of Cambridge, was elected a Resident-Member of the Society.

The Rev. HENRY B. WASHBURN read a paper on "John Wesley and his Journals."

By the courtesy of Mr. James Truslow Adams we print the following letters:

LONDON MERCHANTS ON THE STAMP ACT REPEAL¹

LONDON February 28th 1766

GENTLEMEN,—After much Anxiety, we have at length the pleasure to acquaint you that a Bill is now in the House of Commons for repealing the Stamp Act. it was read the Second time yesterday. We also look forward to some beneficial Regulations and Extensions of the Trade of America; which we hope may be obtained in the Course of this Session of Parliament; during which the most serious Attention and Application shall take place on our part to every point which may tend to the General Good.

Permit us now Gentlemen to lay before you, our Sentiments on the present state of Affairs, to submit them to your good Judgment, and to request, that, so far as they agree with it, you will be pleased to inculcate the propriety of the Conduct we recommend.

¹ The originals are in the Library of Congress and Mr. Adams presented photostat copies to the Society.

It had been a constant Argument against the Repeal, that in case it should take place, the Parliamentary Vote of Right will be waste paper, and that the Colonies will understand very well, that what is pretended to be adopted, on mere Commercial Principle of Expedience, is really yielded thro' fear; and amounts to a tacit but effectual Surrender of its right or at least a tacit Compact that it will never use it.

In this line of Argument every debate and every Question from Opposition has run, — how material, how necessary therefore is it, that the event should not support, or even seem to support those Arguments.

The Event will justify those Arguments in the strongest manner, if the Colonies should triumph on the Repeal, and affect to seize the yielding of Parliament, as a point gain'd over Parliamentary Authority. The Opposition (from whom the Colonies have suffered so much) would then throw in the Teeth of our Friends — *see your Work — it is as we said — it is but too well prov'd what use the Colonies make of your Weak and timid Measures.*

On the Contrary, if Duty, Submission, and Gratitude, be the returns made by the Colonies, then, our Friends may exult, they may say, *we are in the Right, is it not as we said? see the Colonies regained to this Country by our Moderation, regained with their Loyalty, their Affections and their Trade.*

It is needless to say how extremely preferable the latter supposition is to the first, how much more desirable for this Country and for the Colonies.

You must be sensible what Friends the Colonies have had in the present Ministry, and are doubtless informed what pains they have taken to serve them. It is Justice likewise to them; to inform you that they have had great difficulties to encounter in the Cause the principal of which were unhappily thrown in by the Colonies themselves, we mean the intemperate proceedings of various Ranks of People on your side of the Water; and the difficulties of the Repeal would have been much less; if they had not by their violence in Word and Action, awakened the Honour of Parliament; and thereby involved every Friend of the Repeal in the Imputation of betraying the Dignity of Parliament. This is so true, that the Act could certainly not have been repealed, had not Men's Minds been in some measure satisfied with the Declaration of Right. If therefore, you would make the proper returns to your Country, if you have a Mind to do Credit to your Friends and strengthen the hands of your Advocates; hasten, we beseech you to express filial Duty, and Gratitude to your Parent

Country. Then will those who have been (and while they have the power we doubt not will be) your Friends; plume themselves on the restoration of Peace to the Colonies, Union, Trade and reciprocal Advantages to them and to us. But if violent measures are Continued and Triumphs on the point gain'd, If it is talked of as a Victory, If it is said the Parliament have yielded up the Right, then indeed your Enemies here will have a Complete Triumph. Your Friends must certainly lose all power to serve you. Your Tax Masters probably be restored and such a train of ill Consequences follow as are easier for you to imagine than for us to describe—at least such measures on your side will greatly tend to produce these Effects. We have no doubt that you will Adopt the Contrary Conduct, and inculcate it to the utmost of your Influence, to which we sincerely wish the most extensive regard may be paid, and that uninterrupted mutual Affection may Continue between Great Britain and her Colonies to the latest Ages. We are with unfeigned regard, Gentlemen, Your Affectionate Friends and Humble Servants,

GEORGE HAYLEY
 DANIEL VIALARS
 NICH'S RAY
 JOHN STRETELL
 JOHN CLARK
 JOHN BUCHANAN
 JOHN STEWART
 ANTH'Y MERRY
 JON'A BARNARD
 CHRIS'R CHAMBERS
 CHAS. CROKATT
 SAMUEL HANNAY
 EDW'D ATHAWES

BARLOW TRECOTHICK
 CAPEL HANBURY
 DAVID BARCLAY JUN'R
 GILBERT FRANKLYN
 WM. GREENWOOD
 DAN'L MILDRED
 WM. NEATE
 THOS. LANE
 T^r. HARRIS
 EDWARD BRIDGEN
 RICH'D NEAVE
 GILB'T HARRISON
 BROOK WATSON
 GREGORY OLIVE
 DENNIS DE BERDT
 CHAS. OGILVIE.

Per Duke of Cumberland
 North American Packet

LONDON 18th March 1766

GENTLEMEN,—We have now the Satisfaction of informing you by Capt. Wray sent by us express in the Ship *Dispatch*, that the Bill for repealing the Stamp Act received the Royal Assent this day.

To enumerate the Difficulties which we have had in this Affair, would be a disagreeable Task to us; as it might seem calculated to enhance our own Merit, at the Expence of Characters whom we respect for their Situation, however they may have been induced to act a part we could not Approve, or thoroughly reconcile to the true Interests of the British Empire.

Nevertheless, we think ourselves entitled, from the pains we have taken to serve you, to the privilege of imparting our Sentiments on your past and future Conduct, with that freedom and Impartiality which Observation and Experience dictate.

You must know better, than to imagine that any well regulated Government will suffer Laws, enacted with a view to Publick Good, to be disputed by lawless Rioters, with Impunity.

There is no Government so perfect, but thro' misinformation, and the frailties even of the most elevated human Understandings, Mistakes or at least the Appearance of such, may arise in the Conduct of Affairs, even in the wisest Legislature — but, is it just, is it tollerable, that without proof of Inconvenience, tumultuous force shall be encouraged by a part, to fly in the face of power established for the good of the whole? We are persuaded gentlemen that you cannot be of that Opinion, and that you will exert your utmost endeavours to Cancel the Remembrance of such flagrant Breaches of Publick Order, and to manifest your Gratitude and Affection to your Mother Country, which by the Repeal of this Act has given such an incontestable proof of her Moderation.

What Sentiments you ought to entertain on this Occasion, and what Conduct we would wish you to observe will sufficiently appear from our former Letter dated 28th February last, and sent by the first Conveyance the Moment we could inform you, with any degree of Certainty what was likely to be the State of the Stamp Act.

We shall only observe, that under Providence you are indebted for this Event to the Clemency and Paternal Regard of his Majesty for the Happiness of his Subjects; to the Publick Spirit, Abilities, and firmness of the present Administration; and to the Humanity, Prudence, and Patriotism of the Generality of those who compose the Legislature, and the most Considerable persons of every Rank in this Kingdom.

We hope Gentlemen that this Conduct in the British Legislature provoked by the most irritating Measures on your side, will for ever be a lesson to your Posterity, as it is the most Convincing Proof, that if by any Means, Laws are or should be, enacted,

detrimental or seemingly Oppressive to any part of the British Subjects; the British Legislature will at all times with the utmost tenderness, Consider Ever[y] Grievance and redress them the moment they are known.

We cannot but acquaint you that had the Americans endeavoured to Acquiesce with the Law, and dutifully represented the Hardships as they Arose, your relief *would* have been more speedy, and we should have avoided many difficulties as well as not a few *Unanswerable* mortifying Reproaches on your Account.

Such however is the Patriotism and Magnanimity of those in power, that, unaffected, by the Conduct of many on your side of the Water, and the Strenuous Efforts of an Opposition here to every Measure of Lenity and Indulgence towards America; they are endeavouring to establish its Commerce in particular, as well as that of the British Empire in general, upon the most solid Foundation, and the most extensive Plan of Utility.

On your parts, we hope that nothing will be wanting to Obliterate the Remembrance of what has passed, by setting the Example yourselves, and Promoting the like Sentiments in others; of a dutifull Attachment to your Sovereign and the Interests of your Mother Country, a just Submission to the Laws, and respect for the Legislature; for in this you are most effectually promoting your Own happiness and Security.

By a Conduct like this Gentlemen, you will both encourage and enable us to serve you with Zeal on future Emergencys; should any such arise; and to Support our Mutual Interests; the Interest of the Colonies, which are inseperable from the common Interests of Great Britain, with Efficacy and Success. We are, Gentlemen, Your assured Friends and very humble Servants,

BENJA. HAMMET
JAMES BUCHANAN & Co.
WILL'M MOLLESON.
JOHN NORTON
ROBERT & JAMES CHRISTIE
WILLIAM ANDERSON
PETER HODGSON
RICH'D & JNO. SAMUEL
LEVER SETON & CROFTES
[SAM & THOS.] FLUDYER
BOSWORTH & GRIFFITH
GREENWOOD & HIGGINSON
ROBERT CARY & Co.

ROB'T & ROB'T BOYLE & SCOTT.
JOSEPH MICO
PERKINS, BUCHANAN & BROWN
JOHN BELL
GEORGE MAYNARD
JOHN NUTT
BARLOW TRECOHIGH
EDW'D ATHAWES & SON
THOS. LANE & Co.
T'S HARRIS
EDWARD BRIDGEN & Co.
BROOK WATSON
CAPEL & OSGOOD HAN [BURY]

WILLIAM STEAD	NEATE PIGOU & B[ooth?]
RICH'D NEAVE & SON	NICH'S R[ay?]
JNO. STEWART & CAMPBELL	DANIEL VIALARS
DAVID BARCLAY & SONS	ANTH'Y MERRY
EDW'D & RENÉ PAYNE	CHRIS'R CHAMBERS & Co.
JOHN CLARK	MILDRED & ROBERTS
MATT. GALE	GREG'Y OLIVE & Co.
SIL. GROVE	HARRISON & BARNARD
SAMUEL HANNAY	CHAS. CROCKATT
NICKELSON & KING	JOHN BUCHANAN
JAMES RUSSELL	OGLIVIE & MECHIE
CHAMPION & DICKASON	JOHN STRETELL
GRAH'M FRANK & Co.	SAM'L WATERMAN
HARFORD & POWELL	GEORGE HAYLEY
THOS. PHILPOT	

inclosed we send the Act for the
Repeal of the Stamp Act.

[Addressed] To John Hancock Esqr. at Boston, New England.
By the *Dispatch*. Capt. Wray.

LONDON, 13th June 1766

GENTLEMEN,— Referring you to our former Letters of 28th Febry. and 18th March both of which we hope you have long since receiv'd we now inclose three Acts of Parliament, which obtain'd the Royal Assent the 6th instant, Viz't —

An Act, for indemnifying persons who have incurred Penalties in America, on account of the Stamp Act.

An Act for repealing certain Duties, and granting others in lieu thereof, and further regulating several branches of the American Trade.

An Act, for opening and establishing certain Ports in Jamaica and Dominica, for the more free importation and exportation of certain Goods and Merchandizes.

The first will doubtless give you particular satisfaction as completing the Repeal of the Stamp Act; the other two, we consider as the basis of an extensive System of Trade between Great Britain and her Colonies framed on liberal principles of reciprocal Advantage, relieving the Colonies from injudicious restrictions and severe Duties, enlarging old, and opening to them, new Channels of Commerce, and by securing to Great Britain an increasing consumption

of her Manufactures, and of consequence an extension of her Navigation and Revenue.

You must be sensible, Gentlemen, that from those sources have been derived the Power so happily exerted by this Country on many occasions to guard your Religious and Civil Interests. We are therefore persuaded that you will think it just and necessary to prevent by every possible means, foreign States from sharing in the advantage of your Commerce, and thereby depriving Great Britain of the means to afford you future instances of her parental protection.

The consideration that every Degree of intercourse between the British Colonies and the manufacturing Countries of Europe, tends to strengthen their navigation and increase their manufactures at the expence of our own, will, we are sure, be a sufficient motive to engage you heartily to carry into execution the Clause of the regulation Act inhibiting that intercourse, this may effectually be done if such Trade is held by the principal Merchants among you to be dishonourable — the Laws of Reputation being stronger than any other, and we flatter ourselves that your Friends here will not on any future occasion be made to blush by instances of its violation.

We must observe that notwithstanding the apparent necessity of new commercial Laws, such hath been the persevering opposition to these salutary measures, as to occasion the loss of much time, and to render it impracticable to obtain these Trade Acts in a state of full perfection, for altho' they are in themselves very important and far more than could be expected, yet they are to be considered but as the great Out Lines of a plan to extend the National Commerce; Amendments will doubtless be found necessary and must be adopted, in the meantime we persuade ourselves they will meet a ready obedience on your parts.

It is incumbent on us to mention the happy Union between the West Indian and North American Merchants which has proved of great advantage in combating the Opposition. It took place early in the Session, and for the general good, we sincerely wish it always to subsist in its present cordiality.

The regulation of Paper Currency is postponed in order to communicate to the Colonies, and take their opinion upon a Scheme for a general Paper Currency thro' America which has been proposed to the Administration.

The consideration of permitting you to import Wines, Fruit and Oil, directly from Spain and Portugal is also postponed.

The prohibition of your exporting Bar Iron to Foreign Coun-

tries (mentioned in the memorial from Pensilvania) is considered as beneficial to the Iron Manufactures of these Kingdoms; to which from good Policy, reason and Justice a preference is due; and we beg leave to recommend your avoiding hereafter any Applications which may be construed into the most distant means of interfering with the manufactures of the Mother Country, either by furnishing her Rivals with raw materials or by the publick encouragement of similar Manufactures among yourselves, no small strength having arisen to your opponents, during the late struggles from each of those topics—In a word, the System of Great Britain is to promote a mutual interest by Supplying the Colonies with her Manufactures, by encouraging them to raise, and receiving from them all raw materials, and by granting the largest extension to every branch of their Trade not interfering with her own.

Having now compleated so far as it can be done this Year, the important Business for which we united in November last, we think it incumbent on us to repeat our sense of the obligations the whole commercial interest of Great Britain and America is under to the present Administration, to whose abilities, attention and perseverance, the progress made in adjusting these great national points must be attributed; and we hope the good consequences of these Regulations, will transmit their names with honour to posterity.

We are, Gentlemen, Your assured Friends and most humble
Servants.

GEO: HAYLEY
JOHN STRETTELL
DAVID BARCLAY & SONS
MATT'W GALE
CHAS. OGILVIE
WATSON & OLIVE
SAM & THOS. FLUDYER
PERKINS BUCHANAN & BROWN
JNO. STEWART & CAMPBELL
WILLIAM ANDERSON
CAPEL & OSGOOD HANBURY
NICH'S RAY.
RICH'D NEAVE & SON
NEATE PIGOU & BOOTH
ANTHO: BACON & Co.

GIL'B FRANCKLYN
DE BERDT & BURKITT
CHRIS'R CHAMBERS
ANTH'Y MERRY
DANIEL VIALARS
BARLOW TRECOTHICK
EDW'D ATHAWES & SON
LANE SON & FRASER
MILDRED & ROBERTS
T: HARRIS
JAMES RUSSELL
BRIDGEN & WAL[]
SAMUEL HANNAY
JOHN CLARK
WM. GREENWOOD

The Aforegoing is a true Copy of an Original Letter Dated London 13th June 1766, Copy of the Names of the Merchants of the North America Committee, and other North America Merchants of the City of London who signed the said Letter, which was sent to the several Colonies in North America per Favor of Mr. Brook Watson one of the said Committee.

By Order of Barlow Trecothick Esq'r
Chairman of the said Committee. Wm. Tudman, Sec'y July
2d, 1766.

Remarks were made during the meeting by Messrs. LORD,
THAYER, and STORER.